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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Aquae Sextiae: Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence dans l'antiquité.

MICHEL CLERC. Pp. 576 + 24 illustrations in the text + 42 plates. A. Dragon, Aix-en-Provence, 1916.

This work of Professor Clerc's was given the Prix Mignet in 1913 by L'académie d'Aix and the Première Médaille des antiquités de la France in 1915 by L'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. It appeared first in the *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres*, and after having been singularly delayed, as the author says, it has just now been offered to the public in book form. No one is better fitted to write on the history of Aix-en-Provence than Michel Clerc, who is Professor of History in the University of Aix-Marseille, and who some years ago had occasion to study the topography and history of the Aix region in the preparation of his book *La Bataille d'Aix: Études critiques sur la campagne de Caius Marius en Provence*.

The text of this latest book of Professor Clerc is arranged in three parts: (1) *La région d'Aix avant l'arrivée des Romains*, (2) *Aix romain*, (3) *Topographie et Archéologie*. The text proper is followed by forty-six pages, which contain the inscriptions belonging to the town and vicinity, and an alphabetical list of the names in the inscriptions. Photographs and maps make up the forty-two plates at the back of the book.

Aquae Sextiae, the first Roman foundation in Transalpine Gaul, was in the territory of the people whom the Greeks called *Σάλυες* and the Romans *Salluvii*. It was on the *Via Aurelia*, a little west of midway from *Forum Iulii* (Fréjus) to *Arelate* (Arles), and almost directly north of *Massilia* (Marseilles). From it to the Mediterranean ran the *Via Aquensis*. *Aquae Sextiae* (which is Aix-en-Provence, not Aix-les-Bains) was not on any water. It lies about five miles north of the river Arc and fifteen miles south of the river Durance. Its position, however, is such that it must have been one of the important early towns of the *Salluvii*, although there is practically nothing left of an archaeological nature to prove it. The author is driven therefore to the finds in nearby places, also oppida of the *Salluvii*, particularly to *Antremont*, *Baou-Roux*, and *Roque-Pertuse*.

At *Antremont* (not *Entremont* from *Intermontes*, as the popular etymology has it) there have been found enough pieces of local hand-made pottery and iron to date the oppidum as far back as the fifth century B. C., and enough Greek ware—*Samian* in great part—to prove commercial relations with *Massilia*. But

the most important things found at Antremont were three blocks of stone, dug up in 1817, on three faces of which are rough bas-reliefs, which have been photographed and published a number of times (Bibliography in Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs* I, p. 84). On the front side of one of the three blocks is a warrior on horseback, on another are two horsemen, and on the third a man walking. On the other faces are human heads, not ornamental masks, but heads which have been severed from bodies. The author gives all the explanations which previous writers have attempted, quotes Strabo, Diodorus, Livy, and Tacitus to prove the Gallic and German custom of suspending the heads of their conquered enemies before their dwellings. That road leads of course to the Porta dell' Arco of Volterra, with its three heads. Professor Clerc's belief, therefore, is that these three blocks were part of a gate in the city wall. This is a very tempting hypothesis, and a better one than any other that has been offered. There is a certain structural difficulty—not insurmountable to be sure—in placing a block so three faces will show, but even placed as projecting *voussoirs* or as pilaster tops, certainly the decorative, or perhaps better, the terrific nature of the bas-reliefs would be much lessened.

Whatever may be true as regards the heads, the author's new study of the warriors on the front faces of the blocks does give positive results, the pictorial grounds for which are clear enough to anyone who examines the photographic plates. A warrior on horseback is riding at an enemy who is on foot. His sword is pointed as if it were a lance. Further, all the horsemen are without trousers. As it is certain that among the Gauls the cutting sword displaced the thrusting sword about 250 B. C., and that the Gauls began to wear *bracæ* at about the same time, it is evident that the bas-reliefs date before 250 B. C. As to the workmanship, Professor Clerc thinks it was done by inhabitants of Antremont, who had seen Greek sculpture, because the galloping horses resemble some of the horses on the Parthenon frieze! I can see no good reason why Professor Clerc might not have claimed the sculptures outright for his own Salluvii. There are plenty of things from La Tène I which would justify such a claim. At all events, the bas-reliefs of Antremont are the earliest specimens of Gallic sculpture in southeast Gaul, and they with the other finds at Antremont offer satisfactory proofs of Gallic occupation as early as the fourth century B. C.

The next two chapters are devoted to La Roque-Pertuse, and Le Baou-Roux. Below the top of the precipitous height which constitutes La Roque-Pertuse there were found many years ago two statues, their most noticeable feature being that they sit "à la turque", or "en tailleur", or "à la bouddhique". The author has quite a disquisition on the matter and asks why such

a sitting position is not perhaps quite as likely to be originally a *posture gauloise*? Whether or not this is true, it is not as important as the examination Professor Clerc has made of the hill below which the statues were found. On the top, quite near the edge, and looking out over the road and valley, he found *three* excavations in the rock which could hardly have served any other purpose than aediculae or perhaps holes for bases for the statues of divinities. Previous researches had noticed only two excavations and explanations had been made on the basis of the two statues which had been found. Now, Professor Clerc feels that he has located a Gallic triad, perhaps the famous one composed of Teutatès, Esus and Taranis, and he advances the theory that the Christians toppled the statues off their bases over the cliff. Since Professor Clerc's book has been in the press, a fragment of a third statue has been found near where the two statues were discovered, and it seems to be more than probable that the author has established his point. He inclines to think that Antremont was the early capital of the Salluvii, the rock of Roque-Pertuse the chief sanctuary, and Baou-Roux a great fortress, commanding, as it does, the road leading from Antremont to the sea. It is fortunate that the oppida of the Salluvii have found so enthusiastic and so scholarly a student and interpreter as Professor Clerc, but it must be admitted that the results obtained are hardly commensurate with the labor expended.

The second part of the book has as its sub-title, Aix Romain. The first point taken up is of course the foundation of the city. Livy (Epitome to book 61) says: C. Sextius proconsul, victa Salluviorum gente, coloniam Aquas Sextias condidit. Velleius Paterculus and Strabo say about the same thing, adding that the place was founded where it was because of the warm springs there. The author launches into a long argument, and takes up the various statements of the classic writers and the interpretations of modern scholars as to whether Aquae Sextiae was founded as a Roman colony, a Latin colony, an oppidum, or a castellum. His argument is that Rome would not have wanted to found a colony as near as eighteen miles to its ally Massilia, as is proved by the fact that in 118, which is four years later than the date given by Cassiodorus for the foundation of Aquae Sextiae, the quite distant place Narbo was chosen for the foundation of a colony. He then notes that it was Julius Caesar who made Arelate a colony, and took the land—or most of it—from Massilia, which, as is to be remembered, was an ally of Pompey. It was then probably Augustus who made of the castellum of Aquae Sextiae a colony. The conclusion, therefore, seems well grounded that the foundation of a castellum at Aix would have been expected as a help to Massilia, but that when it was made a colony it was to hurt Massilia.

Aquae Sextiae once established, except for accidental prominence in the year 102 on account of the defeat there of the Teutones by Marius, drops out of literary ken. No coins have been found which were struck at Aquae Sextiae, although if it were a Latin colony established even by Augustus, it would still have had a right to issue coins, unless that right had been denied it by special ordinance in favor of Arelate. Inscriptions are the only source material available. On them the name of the town appears as Aquae Sextiae, Aquae Iuliae, Colonia Aquis Sextis, Colonia Iulia Aquis, Colonia Iulia Aquis Sextis, Colonia Iulia Augusta Aquis Sextis. Ten inscriptions show that the town was attached to the tribe Voltinia. Still all the inscriptions are imperial in date, and so, with the possible exception of an inscription, which has disappeared, there is no epigraphical evidence that Aquae Sextiae was a Latin colony, as certain as the fact seems to be.

The other chapters in the second part of the book, comprising about a hundred and seventy-five pages, deal with the information gleaned from the inscriptions as regards the territorial limits of the city, the subdivisions of the city itself, the direction of the Roman roads and the cults of the city, indigenous, Roman and Imperial. There is little that is important in this part of the book. The *pagi* of the city seem to have numbered five or six. Professor Clerc adheres to the number five, and gives us from good sources the names of three: pagus Matovonicus, pagus Iuvenalis, pagus Caudellensis. One might perhaps find fault with the chapter devoted to La vie municipale, for it devotes many unnecessary pages to a description of the well-known functions of all the officials whose titles appear in the inscriptions. A number of inscriptions mention local deities, of whom the god *Lanovalus* and the goddess *Dexiva* (probably from the word *δεξιá*) merit particular mention. They seem to be the Gallic Aesculapius and Fortuna.

The third part of Professor Clerc's work, Topography and Archaeology, offers him a field of larger possibilities, and here we have the best and most important part of the entire book. It is only necessary to say that the various chapters which deal with the location of the hot springs, the cemeteries, the city wall or boundary, and the aqueducts, which brought water to the city, are full of sound observations on facts previously known, and of satisfactory interpretations of facts more recently established by the author himself.

But the crowning piece of the whole work are the chapters which deal with the Roman monuments. The author takes up a discussion of the palace of the Counts of Provence, and reproduces the Cundier drawing of 1566, the Belleforest of 1575, the Maretz of 1622 and the Devoux-Coussin of 1741, all of which show the three towers of the palace known as La Tour de

l'Horloge, la Tour du Trésor, and La Tour du Chaperon. Then with scientific method he marshals his evidence. The general lie of the land, the present location and direction of some of the main streets, inscriptions and cinerary urns, the drawings and descriptions of mediaeval artists and antiquarians, are all brought forward, and by argument and map, Professor Clerc drives the Via Aurelia northwestward toward the line of the city wall. Just outside the gate on the left of the road, he puts a mausoleum, a square base surmounted by a column-encircled, two-story structure resembling the Saint-Remy mausoleum. Voilà, la tour de l'Horloge est un tombeau! A little beyond the tomb on either side of the road are the towers of the gate, that of the Trésor on one side, that of the Chaperon on the other. They are built very like the mausoleum outside, except that their bases are round instead of square. That the towers were part of the city gate and were joined to the city wall is quite certain, but whether the original gate looked like the Porta Nigra at Trêves (Trier) or like those at Arles and Fréjus cannot be determined. An aqueduct entered the city at this gate, running under the Via Aurelia. The present Palais de Justice of Aix covers the ground where the two gate towers were. These chapters on the towers are a credit to scientific archaeology.

The book seems to be much longer than necessary. Perhaps one would not expect in these war times much reference to German authorities. Nevertheless it would have been better to have added at least to de la Noë's, *Le rempart-limite des Romains en Allemagne*, the *Roemischer Limes* (page 148, note 3), and, while citing Mommsen-Marquardt (as on page 157, note 1), the last German edition is preferable to the French translation. However, *Aquae Sextiae* is now Professor Clerc's preserve, and hunting in that field will have to take orders from him. There is no credit to be had in barking at a big piece of work simply because it happens to be almost meticulous.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

Roman Cursive Writing, by HENRY BARTLETT VAN HOESEN.
Princeton and Oxford Press, 1915. Pp. viii + 268 + Tables
A-D and 1-6 of Alphabets.

The above work in its present form—enlarged from the author's 1912 Princeton dissertation—takes its place among the standard books on Roman Paleography. Chapter one gives in twenty pages as succinct and satisfactory a history of the beginnings and development of cursive writing as can be